unyi', unyi'c, un,iya'	son's wife, brother's wife, grandson's wife, father's brother's wife, mother's brother's wife, step-mother
kitca'	a man's step-child
ucu'	a man's sister's husband, his son's (and daughter's?) daughter's husband, wife's brother, wife's grandparents, a woman's daughter's (and son's?) daughter's husband
inkwinyahweya'	a woman's sister's husband
inyahwi'	wife's sister

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MARRIAGE AND FAMILY LIFE

581 The curious feature of Maricopa marriage is that its apparent informality belied a strictly formulated social configuration that resulted from it. Marriage ritual was lacking except for a purely formal test of housewifery. Despite the rigid control of their choice by the parents of the young couple, the mating seems casual enough. Nevertheless, the movement toward the union once initiated by the young people themselves, their relation to the two families becomes increasingly fixed in a rigid mould.

582 Marriage possibilities were limited by blood relationship and sib exogamy. A man could not marry any known blood relative of either parent regardless of sib affiliation, nor any woman of his own sib. Hence he could marry an unrelated member of his mother's sib. I was several times informed that he could not marry either parallel or cross-cousins (although his parents' several nieces were not members of his sib except by chance).

584 My aged informant denied that young men went courting: the most he would admit was that during night dances some would play their flutes at a distance to attract girls. Yet I received strong intimations elsewhere that young people made their own choice. There was at least no open courting, even through the intermediacy of a friend in the Pima manner.[54] While their elders might insist on industry and good temper as sufficient qualifications, young people were also interested in handsome mates. Good looks are not easily defined: I was told at least that one should have long thick hair and that girls as well should be broad in the hips. In a reference to beautiful women (axo'tk, "beauty,"

[533] [572] [171] [581] 832

[54] Cf. Russell, *Pima Indians*, p. 183.

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832 i.e., "good") it was explained that fleshy women were meant. [856] Further, cradles for girls were made with the cross bars widely spaced so that the infants would grow to have large buttocks. 581 They had a common saying that a handsome man will never marry a good-looking woman, while an ugly one would always get 832 several wives. They had also the saying that a woman would give her good-looking daughter to a successful deer hunter. On the other hand I was told that one who was lucky at hunting and in games would not be lucky in love.

582 A girl might marry a few months or half a year after her puberty celebration, but some did not marry for several years.

584 Theoretically, at least, young men asked permission of their parents to marry. The parents selected the girl: even if their son did not care for her, he nevertheless obeyed them. "That is why some couples did not get along; because the parents did the selecting," Kutox observed.

The youth did not court the girl. Instead, he crept to her bed at night and lay beside it, but he refrained from touching her.[55] (This seems incredible but was convincingly affirmed by several [572] informants.) Occasionally he would take a bosom-friend along, point out where the girl lay, and send him off.

[827] This gave rise to a saying: when a man reaches for something and his joints crack, he ejaculates, "No, I am not trying to get married"; because a lad's joints will crack, no matter how quiet he may be when he tries to crawl in beside the girl. It is reported that one man now living said he could never get married because this always happened to him. He said he exercised so his joints would not crack, but they always did.

If the girl woke, she sent her suitor away. She might go over to her parents and lie between them. Then the young man would tell one of them to get up, so that he could lie beside her.[56] Sometimes, if she did not wake, he remained until morning. Then, when her parents found he had been there, they persuaded her to marry him. Even if he came but once, they would force her to marry. It made no difference if she protested her dislike. Her

[184] [55] They were not continent for four nights following marriage like the Yuma (Forde, *Yuma Ethnography*, p. 156).

[56] Again, this seems actually to have happened.

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parents would remind her that death might take them and she would be alone in the world. "Children are supposed to obey; so she married him even if she did not like him." Yet she might finally refuse to go when the groom's mother came to fetch her.

When the youth told his parents that he had spent the night with the girl, his mother went for her. But before leaving, she sent word throughout the village that her son had been married. Then all the men and sometimes women gathered at his home to await the arrival of the girl. As soon as she arrived, she performed the stereotyped task of providing a meal for them.[57]

When a girl married, she was supposed to know all about cooking and grinding wheat. The latter was looked on as the most onerous task that could be set a young girl. The man's parents gave her a big basket of wheat to grind as soon as she arrived. Sometimes she would finish grinding the whole of it, but some could do no more than half. These would attempt to hide the unground grain in a hole beneath the end of the metate. Sometimes the girl would be so ashamed of her failure that she would run off home. Then others thought the parents mean to have given her so hard a task.

They also made her fetch a large vessel of water, perhaps from quite a distance. A girl friend might secretly help her; filling the pot after the bride had lifted it to her head. Sometimes she would leave the vessel on the river bank and run home.

Girls who could not perform these minimum accomplishments of any proper housewife, grinding quickly and well, and keeping an adequate supply of water on hand, were not wanted. Such a girl was permanently rejected by her intended husband's family. But when someone else wanted to marry her, they would bring up this defect in her character.

Nothing in the way of payment, not even gifts, was made to the girl's parents. But the man's parents made presents of such things as shawls to the girl before she married. A girl might be receiving gifts from one family when another selected her for

[57] There is no ceremonial washing of the couple as among the Navaho and Havasupai (cf. Spier, *Havasupai Ethnography*, p. 326).